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***Epikhartika*: About Language on Maps with Special Reference to Colonial Matters**

Abstract: The two new terms ‘language on maps’ and *epikhartika* are introduced to make it possible to refer to not only linguistically meaningful notions, which hitherto have been ignored in those disciplines that investigate the semiotic nature of texts and/or maps. It is shown that maps constitute a sub-genre of text, whose properties can systematically be described. The focus is on the manifestation and specific traits of written language on maps. On the basis of evidence resulting from the comparative analysis of colonial maps, it is argued that language on maps serves discursive functions, whose adequate evaluation requires an interdisciplinary approach, in which structure-oriented linguistics, discourse linguistics, cartography, and related disciplines collaborate.

1 Introduction

On the basis of Hockett’s (1958, 1–3) sketch of the sectors of life for which language is of central interest, we understand linguistics as the science of language that should ideally aspire at systematically addressing and evaluating all phenomena that fall under the rubrics of structure, use, dynamics, and functions of human language(s), including (*pace* Dixon 2010, 1) their philosophical, social, cultural, neuro-biological, and further entailments. Moreover, all kinds of manifestations of language, be they spoken, written, impaired, elaborated, on stone, paper, or other material, etc. form part of the domain of linguistics. This integrative program circumscribes a vast field of potential research objects, many of which have yet to be discovered, especially if we consider that the historical and situational dimensions of language use expand the object of research considerably. In this chapter, we venture into linguistically uncharted territory, in a manner of speaking, by way of characterizing language on maps (= LOM) as a category of its own, whose particulars cannot be described adequately and understood fully on the basis of the extant models and taxonomies of our discipline. We argue that LOM displays properties that justify the coining of a specialized terminology. Since we are still in the initial phase of the project that is supposed

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to ultimately provide a comprehensive account of LOM in the future, we focus on the most basic concept of our approach, viz., the *epikhartikon* (plural: *epikhartika*).¹ What this term is meant to refer to, how we came to shape it, and why we feel that there is a need for it, in the first place, are questions we try to answer in the subsequent sections.

Before we turn our attention to this task, it is necessary to give the reader a first clue as to the nature of the phenomenon we are investigating. To this end, we present Map 1 and comment on those elements thereon that are of interest for the topic of this study. In Section 2, we explain why (not only) this initial example takes us back in time to the heyday of colonialism. The data presented in the following paragraph will be referred back to throughout the remainder of this chapter. The systematic properties connected to these and other data will be unveiled stepwise from Section 3 onward.

The appendix contains a number of maps that bear evidence of LOM. Map 1 features the town Lüderitzbucht² (formerly: Lüderitzort, today: !Nami#Nûs/Lüderitz) and part of the neighboring area on the southern coast of the former German colony Deutsch-Südwestafrika (today: Namibia) as of the pre-World War I period. On the map, there is ample evidence of LOM. Most (but not all) of the cases of LOM have a clear German origin. Beside the title of the map itself (*Plan von Lüderitzbucht* ‘map of Lüderitzbucht’), we find names of maritime geographical objects (= GEO-objects) such as

- harbors and bays (*Lüderitz-Hafen* ‘Lüderitz-Harbour’,³ *Robert-Hafen* ‘Robert-Harbor’, and *Radford*⁴-*B[ucht]*⁵ ‘Radford-Bay’),
- reefs (*Haifisch-Riff* ‘Shark Reef’), and
- islands (*Haifisch-Insel* ‘Shark Island’).

There is also an oronym (*Diamant-Berg* ‘Diamond-Hill’). On the outskirts of the town, there is the train station *Bhf.* [= *Bahnhof*] *Burenkamp* ‘train station Burenkamp’. In the town, we notice several hodononyms such as *Hafen-Str[aße]* ‘Harbour-Street’, *Bismarck-Str[aße]* ‘Bismarck-Street’, *Diaz-Str[aße]* ‘Diaz-Street’, *Berg-Str[aße]* ‘Hill-Street’, *Baiweg*⁶ ‘Bay-Lane’, etc. Note that, by far, not all streets on the map bear names. At the bottom of Map 1, the road that is directed to a place beyond the limits of the map is

1 In the remainder of this chapter, the new term and derivations thereof will appear in small caps.

2 For the information on Lüderitzbucht under the German colonial rule, we rely on Schnee 1920, 465.

3 Throughout this study, we provide English translations of all examples of LOM that reflect the internal structure of the original as closely as possible.

4 The initial constituent of this toponym is the English family name *Radford* (probably the last name of the captain of an English ship).

5 EPIKHARTIKA are frequently realized as (conventionalized) abbreviations. Since not all of them are self-explanatory, we spell them out in square brackets.

6 The initial constituent of this hodonym is the Afrikaans common noun *baai*, ‘bay’.

marked as going *n[ach] Keetmanshoop*⁷ ‘towards Keetmanshoop’, i.e., to another town in the hinterland of Lüderitzbucht. All of these cases are *bona fide* examples of the second most important subcategory of proper names, namely that of toponyms (Van Langendonck 2007, 202). As our choice of terms – oronyms vs. hodonyms – suggests, there is a rich taxonomy of toponymic (sub-)classes that are differentiated terminologically, according to the ontological class the named GEO-object belongs to (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 206–265).

In addition to these genuine toponyms, Map 1 also gives evidence of the use of further items that defy being classified as proper toponyms, on par with those mentioned above. We allude to the common nouns listed under (1).

(1) Common nouns (Lüderitzbucht)

Bahnhof ‘train station’, *Eingeborenen-Werft* ‘kraal’, *Elektriz[itäts]-Werk* ‘power station’, *Friedhof* ‘cemetery’, *Kapelle* ‘chapel’, *Kirche* ‘church’, *Landungsbrücke* (twice) ‘pier’, *Lazarett* ‘military hospital’, *Leuchtturm* ‘lighthouse’, *Mission* ‘mission’, *Schule* ‘school’, *Signalstation* ‘signals’, *Sportplatz* ‘sports field’, *Telefunken-St[ation]* ‘radio station’, and *Zoll* ‘customs.’

In contrast to the GEO-objects that are individualized by a toponym of their own, these latter 15 instances of LOM, at least superficially, do not mark out their referents as individuals but as local representatives of classes of entities. Simplifying, proper names are usually assumed to be mono-referential, i.e., there is a one-to-one relationship between the name and its referent. Common nouns differ from proper names insofar as a common noun like *Kirche* ‘church’ can refer to any referent that belongs to the class of churches, whereas a toponym like *Lüderitz-Hafen* ‘Lüderitz-Harbour’ is restricted to a unique referential relation (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 32–33), with a set of individual coordinates to locate the GEO-object in space. What we have to bear in mind is that toponyms and common nouns appear side by side on Map 1. Linguistically, toponyms, and common nouns belong to two different word classes, with different morpho-syntactic properties.⁸ On maps, however, both toponyms and common nouns are EPIKHARTIKA, which realize LOM. This classification does not put the usual word-class distinction at stake. As will be defended below, the notion of EPIKHARTIKON is necessary to access a functional domain of language that has hitherto been neglected in linguistics.

The co-presence of toponyms and common nouns on maps is problematic in the sense that onomastics only accounts for the former whereas the latter fall outside the scope of this discipline. Accordingly, the extant handbooks, such as Hough (2016), and introductions to the science of names, like Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser (2015), tacitly

⁷ *Keetmanshoop* ‘Keetman’s hope’ is an Afrikaans toponym.

⁸ The word-class membership and/or word-class status of proper names is still controversial in linguistics, which sheds an interesting light on their special status. According to a relatively common opinion, proper names can straightforwardly be subsumed under nouns, i.e., no structurally relevant differences are assumed to exist between proper names and common nouns (Anderson 2007, 15–17). However, we subscribe to the opposing view (Van Langendonck & Van de Velde 2016), according to which, proper names (and their different sub-classes) give evidence of a grammar of their own.

pass over instances of LOM, like those in (1). The situation is similar in the case of linguistics. From a systematic perspective, this is perfectly understandable; one can even say that a systematic taxonomy demands this distinction, but from an empirical perspective, the omission of nouns in the context of name occurrences proves to be problematic, which is especially true for EPIKHARTIKA. So, we can already point out that an investigation of LOM also has consequences for the system of linguistics as a discipline.

There is a plethora of terminological dictionaries, most of which dedicate an entry to toponyms (such as that by Hough (2005) in Brown's monumental encyclopedia), whereas further elements of LOM are never mentioned. This striking silence about LOM results from the absence of maps from the acknowledged genres of text. From the point of view of multimodal linguistics, Bateman (2008, 130–142) shows, however, how maps can be interpreted as a text genre. On the basis of their discourse-oriented approach to language, Spitzmüller & Warnke (2011, 160) argue for a very general definition of text genre ('Textsorte') so that there are no insurmountable obstacles to adding maps to the inventory of genres. This is not least due to the fact that discourses can be grasped in a semiotic continuum, and that discipline-limited systematics, resulting from the isolated consideration of sign types, are empirically inadequate; this even refers to the materiality of language. Following Spitzmüller (2018, 523–529), we assume that it makes a difference at least in terms of the connotations invoked, whether written language is represented on a map or on a materially different carrier object. Traditionally, proper names have been considered to be semantically empty and have even been termed 'non-connotational' (Anderson 2007, 16). According to Nyström (2016, 41–44), however, proper names may not only have connotations just like common nouns (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 34) but, in case of (supposedly) transparent connections to co-existing common nouns, they can be associated with meaning. We are confident that applying the frame-semantic approach propagated by Busse (2012) to the analysis of toponyms and LOM in general, will reveal that there is a semantic layer that remains inaccessible to models, which do not take discourse functions into account. The necessity to study the discourse functions of proper names is the topic of De Stefani (2016). To our minds, what counts for proper names probably also holds for LOM. We therefore strongly recommend that maps that give evidence of LOM are admitted to the typology of text types to be studied by linguists. Thus, if we want to comprehensively describe the specific nature of LOM, the restriction to toponyms is by no means sufficient. Toponyms claim a sizable part of the phenomenology of LOM, but do not exhaust it.

Cartographers conceive of maps as semiotically loaded communicative means, with an internal structure that can be described in terms of categories, which, at least outwardly, resemble those of linguistics, namely cartographic syntax, cartographic semantics, and cartographic pragmatics (Hake, Grünreich & Meng 2002, 10–13). Map language and map symbolism are central concepts. Within this framework, toponyms (the cover term for geographical and extra-terrestrial names) always interact with non-linguistic symbols on maps in order to convey the intended message (i.e., the geo-

graphical information). In support of the idea that maps have semantics, Monnier (1996) provides ample proof of the possibility to lie with maps, i.e., maps can be used to manipulate the minds of their users.

Standard dictionaries of cartography (Großer & Sievers 2001) and geography (Großer 2002) boast partly identical entries for geographical names too. Moreover, cartography employs the term *lettering* to refer to all those elements of written language (including numbers) that appear on maps in order to explain or complement the non-linguistic graphic symbols (Imhof 1972, 235–244). Orientation and, in the case of toponyms, denotation are mentioned as major functions of lettering (Großer 2001). The cartographic literature on lettering overwhelmingly addresses practical questions of map design, i.e., the size, density, colors, and position of LOM on a given map.

For the purpose of our project, the purely technical functions of LOM tell only half of the story. We repeat that maps do not only constitute a genre of text, but LOM is also provided with a discursive function of its own, which cannot be captured by the otherwise well-founded concept of lettering. Lettering is a concept that is adequate for the purposes of cartography. However, we doubt that it can be put to service in the context of linguistics. In what follows, we will put special emphasis on the discourse-related aspects of LOM to demonstrate that it makes sense to introduce the ΕΠΙΚΗΑΡΤΙΚΟΝ, not only as a new term but also as a new concept in linguistics.

This chapter is moderately interdisciplinary in the sense that, time and again, we feel impelled to refer to cartography, especially when it comes to making statements about maps. These references to a different discipline notwithstanding, we situate our study primarily within the domain of linguistics. Wherever the taxonomy and terminology of onomastics⁹ come into play, we rely on Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser (2015) and Hough (2016). Our own theoretical background is sketched in Section 2. In Section 3, we define the ΕΠΙΚΗΑΡΤΙΚΟΝ and discuss the problems posed by the typology of maps. Section 4 looks at a selection of examples of LOM from a variety of historical contexts to substantiate the definition empirically. We start with cases that resemble that of Lüderitzbucht above, and complement these data with more complex and non-toponymic instances. Section 5 is dedicated to the discourse-linguistic evaluation of the ΕΠΙΚΗΑΡΤΙΚΟΝ and LOM. The conclusions are drawn in the final Section 6.

⁹ The relation between onomastics and linguistics is controversial insofar as there are claims that proper names do not belong to language at all and thus onomastics does not meet the necessary criteria to claim the status of a linguistic sub-discipline (Anderson 2007, 15). We oppose this reductionist standpoint because we assume that proper names form part of the mental lexicon of humans – probably in the shape of a network/continuum between the lexicon *tout court* and the onomasticon (Nyström 2016, 44–45) – so that the study of proper names cannot be excluded from the domain of linguistics.

2 Colonial Linguistics

The notion of EPIKHARTIKON is not an ad hoc invention. It has taken shape in the course of the projects we have been conducting within the framework of the research program *Koloniallinguistik / Colonial Linguistics*. Warnke's (2009) paper initiated this research program, which is meant to identify, describe, and evaluate the entire set of interrelations that exist between language and colonialism. The agenda of *Koloniallinguistik / Colonial Linguistics* is presented in Dewein et al. 2012. How this approach integrates aspects of discourse is explained in Warnke & Stolz 2013. Warnke, Stolz & Schmidt-Brücken (2016) discuss the possibilities of adding a post-colonial component to the research program.¹⁰

In Stolz & Warnke 2015, the foundations are laid for the long-term project *Comparative Colonial Toponomastics (CoCoTop)*. One of the primary tasks of CoCoTop is systematically taking stock of all pieces of evidence of colonialism in the toponomastics of colonies (and colonizer countries). To achieve this, different kinds of sources must be exploited. We work, among other things, with gazetteers, administrative documents, travelogues, journals, reports, autobiographic accounts, and last but not the least, with maps. We exclusively accept sources, whose date of publication (or creation) coincides with the (stipulated) period of colonialism (1492–1992). This means that we extract information to a considerable extent from historical maps. The necessity of interpreting these historical maps has ultimately guided us to coining LOM, in general, and the EPIKHARTIKON, in particular.

The output of CoCoTop, in terms of papers and books, is too big to be recapitulated in this study. We therefore choose only a small number of milestones, which mark important steps toward LOM and the EPIKHARTIKON. For an extended initial phase, the focus was exclusively on toponyms, especially those that are exonymic or hybrid formations, to name places in the colonies. Exonyms are toponyms that consist exclusively of elements taken from the language of the colonizer¹¹, whereas hybrids combine elements from the language of the colonizer with elements stemming from

¹⁰ Especially, though not exclusively, in the context of decolonization, the frequent processes of replacing toponyms coined by a colonizer with those of a new colonizer or of an independent ex-colony clearly show that there is a heavy dose of connotations triggered by the incriminated toponyms (Stolz & Warnke 2016).

¹¹ Such as the Dutch toponym *Nieuw Oranje* 'New Orange' (a temporary name for what later became New York) involving the Dutch adjective *nieuw* 'new' and the name of the Dutch ruling dynasty *Oranje* of the seventeenth century (Stolz & Warnke 2017, 208).

the language of the colonized¹² (Stolz & Warnke 2018a, 53–54, with further sub-categories).¹³ As to the exonyms, certain patterns recur with a strikingly high type frequency and across practically all European colonialisms, so that it is possible to speak of the *Canonical Colonial Exonym* (= CCE) (Stolz & Warnke 2018b, 28).¹⁴ The CCE is a binary compound-like construction, whose constituents are in a modifier-head relation, i.e., the modifier semantically modifies the structurally more basic head. Our initial example *Lüderitzbucht* illustrates this pattern in Fig. 1.

[{*Lüderitz*}_{MODIFIER} - {*Bucht*}_{HEAD}]_{TOPONYM} **Fig. 1:** Binary structure of the CCE.

Potentially, there are many bays so that *Bucht* ‘bay’ alone remains referentially vague. The modifier *Lüderitz* singles out a particular bay from the multitude of GEO-objects belonging to this class. The genuine toponyms on Map 1 are all instances of the CCE, with *Lüderitz*, *Robert*, *Bismarck*, *Haifisch* ‘shark’, *Bai* ‘bay’, and *Diamant* ‘diamond’ functioning as fillers for the slot of the modifier, whereas *Bucht* ‘bay’, *Riff* ‘reef’, *Insel* ‘island’, *Berg* ‘hill’, *Straße* ‘street’, and *Weg* ‘lane’ occupy the position of the head. *Hafen* ‘harbour’ is special insofar as it is used both as modifier and head. In the case of *Bahnhof* ‘train station’, the head function is uncontroversial but in contrast to the bulk of the toponyms on Map 1, which reflect a right-headed construction, *Bhf. Burenkamp* is an example of left-headedness. Alternatively, constructions of this kind (in German) could be categorized as appositions. Thus, there is variation, in the sense that beside the CCE, further patterns are employed for the coining of colonial toponyms that do not conform fully to the schema given in Fig. 1.

Table 1 impressionistically gives the reader an idea of the ubiquity of the CCE across the European colonial toponomasticons. The data are taken from Stolz, Warnke

12 Such as the *Poelau Vlaming* ‘Vlaming-Island’ in Netherlands New Guinea (as of 1955), which contains Malay *pulau*, ‘island’, and the Dutch family name *Vlaming* (Stolz, Levkovych & Warnke 2019, 196).

13 Endonyms, i.e., toponyms that consist exclusively of elements taken from the language(s) of the colonized, such as *Umba-Nyika* ‘Umba steppe’ (*Umba* = hydronym, *nyika* ‘(dry) steppe’) in Deutsch-Ostafrika, today’s Tanzania, normally outnumber exonyms and hybrids by far. They pose several problems that render them a category hard to handle, without sufficient experience in the indigenous languages of the colonies. Furthermore, it is by no means always clear whether these endonyms are pre-colonial local coinings or imposed by the colonial administration. In the case of *Umba-Nyika*, the toponym is the creation of the Austrian geographer Oskar Baumann (Rieger 2020, 59).

14 Corbett (2005, 25–26) has introduced the concept of canon into linguistics. The canon must not be mistaken for the most frequent or optimal realization form of a given phenomenon. The sole purpose of postulating a canon is to provide an abstract yardstick for the calibration of attested cases. With reference to the CCE, we confirm that it is realized far too often to be filed away as a marginal phenomenon.

Tab. 1: Examples of CCE across European colonizers.

Colonizer	Toponym	Head	Location
Austria	Fort Benjowski	<i>fort</i> ‘fort’	Madagascar
Belgium	Albertville	<i>ville</i> ‘town’	Congo
Brandenburg-Prussia	Dorotheenschanze	<i>Schanze</i> ‘redoubt’	Ghana
Courland	Jacobusstadt	<i>Stadt</i> ‘city’	Tobago
Denmark	Christianshavn	<i>havn</i> ‘harbour’	Virgin Islands
France	Port Louis	<i>port</i> ‘harbour’	Gouldaloupe
Germany	Moltke-Spitze	<i>Spitze</i> ‘peak’	Togo
Italy	Monte Umberto	<i>monte</i> ‘mountain’	Eritrea
Netherlands	Mauritsstad	<i>stad</i> ‘city’	Brazil
Portugal	Vila Salazar	<i>vila</i> ‘town’	Timor Leste
Russia	Archipelag Aleksandra	<i>archipelag</i> ‘archipelago’	Alaska
Spain	Punta Vidal	<i>punta</i> ‘peak’	Equatorial Guinea
Sweden	Carolusborg	<i>borg</i> ‘castle’	Ghana
United Kingdom	Grahamstown	<i>town</i>	South Africa

& Levkovych 2016.¹⁵ Boldface marks out anthroponymic constituents. The head is translated separately.

The different orders of modifier and head are unproblematic because they can be explained with reference to the general word-order rules of the language under scrutiny. One of the traits these examples share is the use of an anthroponym as modifier. The name of a representative of the colonizer nation forms part of the toponymic construction.¹⁶ The function of this modifier is easy to determine. The anthroponyms serve as markers of possession, in the sense that they create a direct link to the culture, history, politics, and society of the colonizer nation and thereby claim the place for exactly this colonizer nation (Stolz & Warnke 2019). The fact that this can obviously be done most directly via persons, i.e., anthroponymic name constituents, is also an indication of an anthropocentricity of colonial naming practices, which deserves its own investigation, but is already mentioned here as a descriptive category for EPIKHARTIKA. Many colonial toponyms are cognitive confluents of personal referents of designations for GEO-objects and thus akin to an abstract mapping of aspects of colonization, in general. The anthroponym *Lüderitz* in *Lüderitzbucht* and *Lüderitz-Hafen*, for instance, commemorates Adolf Lüderitz, an influential actor of the German acquisition of territories in Africa in the 1880s (Schnee 1920, 465). On account of the

¹⁵ In stark contrast to the European colonial toponomastics, the Japanese case is characterized by a pronounced preference for hybrids, for which Japanese usually provides the head (Otsuka 2018, 340–341), although the CCE is also attested (Otsuka 2018, 344).

¹⁶ The modifier *Carolus* in *Carolusborg*, ‘Charles’ Castle’ for instance, commemorates *Karl* (= *Carolus*) *X Gustav*, who ruled as king of Sweden from 1654 to 1660 (Stolz, Warnke & Levkovych 2016, 320). For the other historic personalities commemorated by the toponyms in Tab. 1, the reader is referred to the detailed explanations in Stolz, Warnke & Levkovych 2016.

wide distribution of the CCE and the recurrent properties of the modifiers, it is possible to formulate hypotheses and put forward generalizations about formal and functional aspects of colonial toponyms.

Owing to the transparency, especially of anthroponymic modifiers, this constituent of the CCE remained in the foreground of many studies of ours such as Stolz, Levkovich & Warnke 2019. Only relatively recently has the head constituent begun to attract more of our attention. In the original version of the CCE, the head is analyzed as a geographical classifier (= GEO-classifier), i.e., the element that ideally assigns a given GEO-object to its appropriate ontological class. This interpretation holds for cases like *Diamant-Berg* ‘Diamond-Hill’ because the GEO-object bearing this name is indeed a hill. However, *Lüderitzbucht* ‘Lüderitz-Bay’ is one of many counter-examples since the GEO-object is a town and not a bay. There is thus a referential mismatch between a GEO-classifier and a GEO-object class, which leads Döschner (2018) to rebut the category *Gattungseigenname* ‘proper-name appellative’, which has been a bone of contention for a long time in German onomastics (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 44–45). In point of fact, GEO-classifiers constitute a colorful category that is connected on a continuum to both common nouns and grammatical classifiers (Stolz & Levkovich 2020a). Moreover, recent studies show that the classifiers are not at all exempt from colonialist connotations. In Warnke et al. 2020, the distinction between GEO-classifiers and function classifiers (= FUNC-classifiers) is introduced. FUNC-classifiers highlight certain aspects of the place, which might be economically or strategically useful for the colonizers. In this sense, *Hafen* ‘harbour’ in *Robert-Hafen* ‘Robert-Harbour’ is a FUNC-classifier because it characterizes the place as being accessible by sea. The discovery of the FUNC-classifier calls for a revision of the CCE, to the extent that now both constituents of the binary pattern convey colonialist connotations.

What is important about both kinds of classifiers is that, except in cases of diachronic fossilization, they are identical to co-existing common nouns. This co-existence is obvious in the case of the common noun *Bahnhof* ‘train station’ in (1) and the FUNC-classifier *Bahnhof* in *Bhf. Burenkamp* ‘train station Burenkamp’. All GEO-classifiers and FUNC-classifiers on Map 1 also exist as common nouns in German. On what grounds can it be justified that one instance of *Bahnhof* counts as (constituent of) a toponym, whereas the other is denied a similar classification? The difficulties that arise when it comes to defining the exact dividing line between common nouns and toponyms on maps have induced Miccoli (2020), for the Italian colonial toponomasticon, and De Bloom (2023), for the German and Swedish cases, to suspend the solution of this problem by way of lumping together common nouns, like those in (1) and genuine toponyms in a common macro-class, labeled, toponyms. In doing so, the two authors have anticipated a necessary step toward the EPIKHARTIKON. The decisions taken by Miccoli (2020) and De Bloom (2023) are in line with the findings of typological linguistics, according to which, in many, if not all, languages that give evidence of a *Special Onymic Grammar* (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 64–92), there is a set of common nouns that behave

parallel to proper names, morphosyntactically (Handschuh & Dammel 2019, 455–458), which Haspelmath (2019: 322) baptized, toponouns.

Subsuming common nouns and toponyms under one umbrella category suggested itself to the above authors because their databases include not only macro-toponyms but also micro-toponyms. Macro-toponyms are supposed to be widely known whereas micro-toponyms are normally only known locally (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 206–207). Accordingly, *Bahnhof* ‘train station’ may have had the value of a micro-toponym for inhabitants of Lüderitzbucht¹⁷ since there was only a single GEO-object of this kind within the town (the other train station on the city limits needed to be specified by adding a modifier to yield *Bhf. Burenkamp*). Beyond this restricted local context, speakers of German – not only in Deutsch-Südwestafrika – would not share the associations of those living in Lüderitzbucht. In contrast, *Lüderitzbucht* was certainly more widely known, not only in colonialist circles in Germany, between 1884 and 1919 so that it can be taken for granted that we are dealing with a macro-toponym.

We agree that to reach the ultimate goals of CoCoTOP and *Koloniallinguistik / Colonial Linguistics / Postcolonial Language Studies*, it makes perfect sense to evaluate macro-toponyms as well as micro-toponyms. The findings of Stolz & Warnke 2017 further support the idea that there is a gray zone between genuine toponyms and common nouns. The authors observe the use of de-individualizing patterns for the names of certain (hard to access and/or economically unimportant) GEO-objects. The modifier is either an ordinal numeral (e.g., in Italian East Africa: *Cima quarta* ‘Fourth peak’ ← Italian *cima* ‘peak’ + *quarto* ‘fourth’) or a letter of the alphabet (e.g., Netherlands New Guinea: *B-rivier* ‘River B’ ← Dutch *B* ‘(letter) B’ + *rivier* ‘river’). In both cases, there are extended lists of parallel formations. The classifier cannot be told apart formally from its common-noun equivalent. The distinction between a toponym and a common noun is blurred.

We even venture a step further. In contradistinction to macro-toponyms, micro-toponyms and, much more often, toponymically re-interpreted common nouns that appear on maps fail to show up in the index of colonial atlases (or in gazetteers, for that matter). If being printed on a map is the only reason for including common nouns like those in (1), in the same category as genuine toponyms, then nothing keeps us from treating analogously other absentees from the indexes that are nevertheless represented graphically on the maps. This is the point at which we leave the domain of toponomastics for good and enter the realm of LOM.

¹⁷ However, one has to be very careful with such functional assignments (in the colonial context), because the function of map-bound toponyms does not give direct conclusions about name use and functions in everyday life. The small alley behind the childhood home may have had a name, let us suppose *Lüderitzweg*, which may not have been known at all; it was and remained *the alley*. This already indicates that the materialization of toponyms and EPIKHARTIKA on maps entails a specific classification of their function; see the *esse-est-percipi-principle* in Section 5.

3 Toward Defining the EPIKHARTIKON

The foregoing paragraphs have revealed the long and winding process that has led us to create new terms. We noticed that there was a terminological gap only after widening the scope of the types of data we consider worthwhile accounting for. There was no established cover term for toponyms and common nouns on maps. In different linguistic contexts, it might make sense to label the latter, pseudo-toponyms or the like. For the purpose of CoCoToP, however, nothing much would be gained because, as shown in Section 4, maps may also give evidence of elements of LOM that cannot be related to (pseudo-)toponyms in any way. Thus, how can the EPIKHARTIKON be defined? To define the EPIKHARTIKON and explain our choice of term in Section 3.2, we take a detour via the world of maps in Section 3.1. In both sections, arguments are put forward to narrow down the list of phenomena and sources that are relevant for the notions under inspection.

3.1 Maps

It is clear that EPIKHARTIKA are instances of written language. They presuppose a certain carrier object on which they are visible, namely maps. However, there are different kinds of maps. For CoCoToP, it is crucial to compare like with like. In cartography, experts speak of thematic maps and thematic cartography, in the sense that maps are created for special purposes, with the aim of focusing on certain topics such as demography, administrative organization, mineral resources, etc. (Imhof 1972, 12–13). It is to be expected that different thematic maps also differ from each other with regard to LOM, which means that only maps with a common theme can be compared to each other. A small number of the European colonialisms are privileged insofar as at least some of the colonies have been the object of different thematic maps. In other cases, the only type of map that is available is that of the topographic map. In cartography, topographic maps form the basic or unmarked type, albeit with a wide margin for variation as to its formal parameters (Buziek & Koch 2002, 371–373). Historically, topographic maps precede thematic maps (Stams 2002, 10). It is therefore recommendable to start comparing LOM on the basis of topographic maps.

In contemporary cartography, there is a strong tendency to create internationally valid principles and regulations for map making, as is manifest in the activities of the *International Cartographic Association* (ICA, founded in 1959) (Neumann 2002). This means that cartography is undergoing standardization that also affects what is permitted to be printed on maps. In terms of practicality, this is a welcome process. To a project like ours, however, artificial homogeneity is detrimental because variation is no longer tolerated, which means that there remains hardly anything worth comparing in the first place. If we go back in time, the leveling in the domain of cartography was not as pronounced, and thus map making still allowed for variation and creative

solutions. This is especially true for the long period preceding the age of decolonization. The goals of CoCoTop can only be reached if we search for evidence of colonialist concepts in documents that predate decolonization and postcolonial ideology. For a start, only those maps are taken account of that have an official or semi-official status, that is, which appeared in print, either on orders of or with the consent of the colonizer's government.

The maps of the colonizer countries themselves constitute fertile ground for the investigation of manifestations of the colonialist mind, as has been shown in several studies (e.g., Ebert 2021) dedicated to micro-toponyms (mostly hodonyms and dromonyms) in European urban contexts. We opt for researching the cartographic representation of the colonies because what distinguishes the maps of the colonies from those of the colonizer countries is the scarcity of certain kinds of LOM on the latter.

The scale of the maps varies considerably so that it is hardly possible to impose strict criteria for the selection of colonial maps. For the time being, we make do with requiring that the maps feature similar entities topographically, viz., settlements, districts, entire colonies, islands, coastlines, mountain ranges, etc. This means that Map 1 is comparable only to other maps that also feature a settlement and its immediate surroundings. Now that we have delimited the kind of maps on which we expect to find EPIKHARTIKA, we can proceed to the definition of the notion.

3.2 The Term and its Definition

3.2.1 Word-formation

The term EPIKHARTIKON has not shown up out of nowhere. The reason for coining it should be clear by now. We had looked in vain for an adequate label in the extant terminologies of linguistics and cartography to attach to the phenomena we discovered while working with colonial maps and which called for further inspection. As mentioned in the introductory paragraph of Section 3, a term like 'pseudo-toponym' would not do since it excludes all non-toponymic elements of LOM. Thus, we decided to become terminologically creative. The putative Ancient Greek impact on the terminology of onomastics is strong. For most types of names, there are supposedly Ancient Greek terms such as *zoonym* (= animal name), *ergonym* (= object name), *praxonym* (= event name), etc. (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2015, 104). Similarly, the higher-order class of toponyms (= place names) is subdivided into several layers of lower-order classes, for most of which, an Ancient Greek label is in use (often in competition with a synonym stemming from a contemporary language), such as *anoikonym* (= name of an uninhabited place), *potamonym* (= river name), *helonym* (= swamp name), etc. The head constituent

of these compounds is the truncated Ancient Greek noun ὄνυμα¹⁸ / *onyma* (~ ὄνομα / *onoma*) ‘name’. In point of fact, not all of these and further terms go back to antiquity. We were unable to confirm their presence in Ancient Greek on the basis of Montanari’s (2014) dictionary. At least some of the terms seem to be more or less recent creations on the basis of the structural patterns of Ancient Greek word formation. The terms come almost exclusively in the shape of determinative compounds, which is the major type of compounding in Ancient Greek. If not all of the terms are attested in Ancient Greek texts, the terms are nevertheless possible Ancient Greek compounds.

The onomastic predilection for Ancient Greek, as a resource for the creation of new terminology, induced us to follow the same path to fill our own terminological gap. However, as mentioned repeatedly above, LOM is not only a matter of genuine toponyms and pseudo-toponyms, but also involves non-onymic elements. Therefore, the use of the pattern *X-onym* was blocked. Ancient Greek has further types of compounds on offer, amongst which we find prepositional compounds such as ἐγκέφαλος / *egkephalos* ‘brain’ = preposition ἐν / *en* ‘in’ + common noun κέφαλος / *kephalos* ‘head’ (Bornemann & Risch 1978, 320). Since it is exactly the location of the elements of LOM on maps that makes them special, we consider the type of the prepositional compound to be the best option for creating the new term. Finding the most adequate preposition posed no serious problems because Ancient Greek ἐπί / *epi* ‘on’ is a polysemous spatial preposition, which is also frequently involved as prefix ἐπ(ι)- / *ep(i)-* in word-formation (Bornemann & Risch 1978, 202) such as ἐπικρηπίς / *epikrēpis* ‘overshoe’ = ἐπί / *epi* ‘on’ + κρηπίς / *krēpis* ‘shoe (worn by men)’. The empty slot in the pattern *epi-X* needed to be filled by a suitable noun. Our noun of choice was χάρτης / *khartēs* ‘sheet of (papyrus) paper’ – a masculine noun of the first declension class – from which we extracted the root χαρτ- / *khart-* and added the derivational suffix -ικός / *-ikos* for relational adjectives (Bornemann & Risch 1978, 308), which then was nominalized in its neuter form to yield EPIKHARTIKON.

In terms of semantic compositionality, the term EPIKHARTIKON suggests a meaning ‘(related to) what is on paper’. Markus Asper (personal communication, July 1, 2019) suggests alternatives, such as ἐπιγραφή / *epigraphē* ‘inscription’ or ὑπόγραμμα / *hypogramma* ‘inscription on a column/pillar’. We have opted against these terms because they belong to the established terminology of a different discipline – epigraphy – and thus invoke a carrier-object material (stone), which is different from that of the kinds of maps we are interested in (paper). Markus Asper mentions a third possibility. One of the meanings of Ancient Greek πίναξ / *pinax* ‘table, board’ is indeed ‘map’, whereas πινακογραφία / *pinakographia* refers to the art of map making. Thus, if one wants to express the idea of ‘what

¹⁸ Only for words that are attested already in Ancient Greek do we provide the original graphic representation. Neologisms are presented exclusively in transliterated form. Modern Greek examples are given in original orthography and Latinate transcription.

is on a map', a neologism like *epipinakion* comes to mind. This alternative notwithstanding, we keep the term ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ as is, because the primary meaning of Modern Greek χάρτης / *khartis* is 'map', whereas πίνακας / *pinakas* 'table, catalogue, painting' is no longer associated with cartography. Moreover, we believe that, especially for those who are not familiar with Ancient Greek, the component *khart-* might trigger associations with English *chart* 'nautical map', German *Karte* 'map', French *carte* 'map', etc. Terminologically, ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ constitutes a compromise between the antiquity-oriented traditions of onomastics and today's meanings attached to words of Ancient Greek origin in the modern languages of Europe.

The reconstruction of the term-finding process indirectly characterizes our procedure as the usual strategy of innovating one's terminology in onomastics and linguistics. Having recourse to the seemingly unlimited reservoir of the lexicon and the transparent word-formation patterns of Ancient Greek is certainly one of the most popular ways in the domain of terminological neology.

3.2.2 Definition

The new term needs content (or more precisely, the new content called for a new term). What exactly does ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ stand for? The previous sections have given us a rough idea of the notion at hand. We complement this still incomplete picture by way of referring to the usual practice of cartography, to exclude the map legend, the map title, and everything that is located outside the map frame from the category of lettering (Imhof 1972, 245–254). We provisionally adopt this practice for our purpose. Future studies must clarify whether this decision should be revised. Since the concept under scrutiny arose from our investigations in the domain of *Koloniallinguistik* / *Colonial Linguistics*, it is clear that we are referring more narrowly to the COLONIAL ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ, which, stripped of its associations with colonialism, might also turn out to be useful beyond the limits of CoCoToP. In (2), we present a concise definition of the COLONIAL ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ.

- (2) The COLONIAL ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ – definition(s)
 - (a) The COLONIAL ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ is any single-word instance of written language on colonial maps within the limits of the map frame.
 - (b) Cases of multi-word instances of written language on colonial maps within the limits of the map frame consist of *n* ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΑ.
 - (c) Depending on their internal syntactic structure, multi-word instances of written language on colonial maps can constitute ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΑ phrases or propositions.
 - (d) Each case mentioned in (a)–(c) counts as realization of (colonial) LOM.

The definition in (2) tells us what the COLONIAL ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΟΝ is. At the same time, the definition keeps silent about the usefulness of the notion. What does linguistics, what does onomastics gain from integrating the concept, and what does an interdisciplinary study of colonization gain from it? We try to answer these questions in two steps.

For a start, Section 4 sketches two types of EPIKHARTIKA (other than genuine toponyms) on the basis of comparative empirical data, to underscore the point that we are not dealing with a marginal phenomenon. In Section 5, we address the issue of the discourse function of the EPIKHARTIKON and LOM in general.

4 Different Kinds of EPIKHARTIKA

This section is divided in two. In Section 4.1, we present a parallel case to our initial example Lüderitzbucht, i.e., a colonial city map is scrutinized for evidence of EPIKHARTIKA. Section 4.2 inspects maps of more extended territories, where we find numerous instances of non-toponymic LOM.

4.1 Port d'Obock

In terms of the kind of attested EPIKHARTIKA, Lüderitzbucht (as represented on Map 1) is not unique. It may even be claimed that it is a typical example of colonial city maps across the European colonialisms in the first half of the twentieth century. It suffices to glance at the case of Port d'Obock in Northeast Africa.

Port d'Obock (today's Obo(c)k) was a major harbor (and erstwhile capital) of the French colony Côte Française des Somalis (today's Djibouti). Map 2 represents the settlement and its immediate surroundings, as of 1929. In contrast to Map 1, there are no hodonyms. It is even difficult to make out any streets on Map 2. Port d'Obock is depicted like an open country in lieu of being presented as an urban center. This deurbanized impression fits in with the information given in the Atlas Colonial Français (Pollacchi 1929, 196) that

Obock, ancien chef-lieu de la colonie, a perdu de son importance depuis que la résidence et les services administratifs ont été transférés à Djibouti; à côté de cette agglomération de 300 indigènes, il ne reste plus que les vestiges de l'ancienne ville administrative.¹⁹

Except *Obock* (of Arabic provenance) itself, all of the EPIKHARTIKA are of French origin and realize the expected left-headed binary structure, with the modifier coming in the shape of a possessive prepositional phrase, as in $\{ \{ \text{Plateau} \}_{\text{HEAD}} \{ [\text{des}_{\text{PREP}} \text{Gazelles}]_{\text{PP}} \}_{\text{MODIFIER}} \}_{\text{TOPONYM}}$ 'Gazelles-Plateau'. The genuine toponyms refer to maritime GEO-objects, such as *Ilot Nord* 'Northern Small Island', rivers such as *Riv[ière] d'Obock* 'Obock-River', or mountains (like *Buttes aux Cailles* 'Quails-Heights'), plateaus (like

¹⁹ Our translation: "Obock, the old capital of the colony, has lost its importance since the seat and the services of the administration have been transferred to Djibouti; beside the settlement of 300 natives, there remain only the relics of the old administrative town."

Plateau des Aigles ‘Eagles-Plateau’), valleys (like *Vallée des Jardins* ‘Gardens-Valley’). The names of the banks *B[an]c du Laclocheleterie* and *Banc du Surcouf* involve the names of two French men-o’-war. The other modifiers are either zoonyms (such as *Plateau du Lièvre* ‘Hare-Plateau’), directions (as e.g., *Port du Sud* ‘Southern Harbour’), or refer to fishermen (= *Anse des Pêcheurs* ‘Fishermen’s Hook’) or pearls (= *Banc des Perles* ‘Pearls-Bank’).

In addition to these genuine toponyms, there are 11 types (with 13 tokens) of EPIKHARTIKA that are common nouns, to which three adjectives have to be added. We present the data in (3).

(3) Common nouns and noun phrases (Port d’Obock)

cimetière ‘cemetery’, *factorerie* ‘trading post’, *gouvernement* ‘government’, *hôpital* ‘hospital’, *jardins* ‘gardens’, *mission catholique* ‘Catholic mission’, *penitencier* ‘penal institution’, *poste* ‘post-office’, *puits* (twice) ‘well; pit’, *s[our]ce sulfur[eu]se* ‘sulfur source’, *village indigène* (twice) ‘indigenous village’

Three of the cases in (3) are especially interesting because they represent binary noun phrases, with a common noun as head that is modified by a postnominal attributive adjective. Examples like *mission catholique* ‘Catholic mission’, *s[our]ce sulfur[eu]se* ‘sulfur source’, and *village indigène* ‘indigenous village’ suggest that in terms of morphosyntactic structure, the phenomenology of LOM is not restricted to isolated EPIKHARTIKA. The absence of phrasal cases on Map 1 is partly explicable with reference to the different possibilities of compounding in German and French, with the latter language preferring syntagms over compounds. However, the different structural preferences of the two languages do not explain why Map 1 registers a further unspecified common noun, *Mission* ‘mission’, whereas on Map 2, the denomination of the mission is made explicit as *mission catholique* ‘Catholic mission’. This is especially striking because in the German colony, Protestant and Catholic missionaries competed with each other, whereas normally a mission in a French colony would be run by a Catholic order. Meaning: it would have made much more sense to tell the map user whether the mission in Lüderitzbucht was Catholic or Protestant, than to state the obvious for the mission in Port d’Obock.

Both Lüderitzbucht and Port d’Obock were the home of indigenous villages, which remain anonymous. The absence of an individualizing name for the *Eingeborenen-Werft* ‘kraal’ on Map 1 is interesting in itself. The parallel case in Port d’Obock is even more interesting because there were two indigenous villages. According to Map 2, one *village indigène* was situated north of the *Riv[ière] d’Obock* and the *Valée des Jardins*. The location of the other *village indigène* was at about 2 km to the south of its namesake on the other side of the river and the valley. If there are two indigenous villages, it is to be expected that one needs to distinguish them by name. It seems, however, that this practical necessity was not reason enough for the map makers to disclose these names on the map, if they existed at all. What is represented on Map 2 by the majority of the pseudo-toponyms in (3) belongs to the domain of (urban)

infrastructure. To the French colonizers, it was important to know where the hospital, the post office, and the trading post were located. In contrast, it was largely unimportant to them to put distinct names to the indigenous villages. The lesson we learn from this still sketchy comparison of two colonial city maps is that EPIKHARTIKA of the common noun and phrasal types cater for the interests of the colonizers.

4.2 From Pseudo-toponyms to Landscape Painting

In this section, we present cases from French, Dutch, and German colonialism. The maps from which we extract certain grid squares represent larger territories so that we do not expect to find evidence of hodonyms. What we find instead are structured chains of EPIKHARTIKA that characterize parts of the territory as to its (economic) value, history, accessibility, etc.

Map 3 zooms in on the north-western sector of the French colony Guyane Française on the Atlantic coast of northern South America. For the sake of brevity, we skip discussing the presence of ethnonyms on Map 3, which circumscribe the settlement area of certain ethnic groups such as Boschs, Paramaca, and Boni along the Maroni-River. Even the *Territoire pénitentiaire* ‘penitentiary district’ in the north-westernmost corner of the colony is not as interesting to us as two further instances of LOM situated in the center of the colony. Both of these cases are noun phrases involving postnominal adjectival attribution, namely *Région inexplorée* ‘unexplored region’ and *Plateau peu accidenté* ‘slightly hilly plateau’. We assume that *Région inexplorée* ‘unexplored region’ is similar to the pseudo-toponyms we are familiar with from the previous discussion. No other region in *Guyane Française* of the times is characterized as unexplored on the map. In the absence of namesakes, one might consider *Région inexplorée* ‘unexplored region’ to be a pseudo-toponym, similar to *Bahnhof* ‘train-station’, in the case of Lüderitzbucht, in the sense that the unique expression can be used to individualize a GEO-object. What about *Plateau peu accidenté* ‘slightly hilly plateau’? Since no other plateau is mentioned on the map, the situation seems to be the same as with *Région inexplorée*, ‘unexplored region’. However, the three EPIKHARTIKA together form a relatively complex noun phrase with two modifier-head relations: the noun *plateau* ‘plateau’ takes the binary modifier *peu accidenté* which in turn consists of the (participial) adjective *accidenté* ‘hilly’ and its adverbial modifier *peu*, ‘little’. The question arises whether one would refer to the GEO-object as the place called *Slightly Hilly Plateau*. As a matter of fact, neither *Région inexplorée* ‘unexplored region’ nor *Plateau peu accidenté* ‘slightly hilly plateau’ are cross-referenced in the index that accompanies the atlas, which means that they are not classified as toponyms.²⁰ We

²⁰ The reference to *plateau (légèrement ondulé)* ‘(slightly uneven) plateau’ in the same index (Pollacchi 1929: 306) does not impair our argument since what is indexed belongs to a thematic map that focuses on the physical properties of the terrain in Soudan Français (Carte 12bis).

doubt further that *Plateau peu accidenté* 'slightly hilly plateau' is a pseudo-toponym. It has more of a phrasal description that informs the map-user about the local topographic conditions without putting any names to GEO-objects. Similarly, *Région inexplorée*, 'unexplored region', tells the map user that no information is available for this stretch of land.

Map 4 covers a mid-western grid square of the Dutch colony Suriname, as of 1938. Map 4 features part of the border region between Suriname and British Guyana. There are numerous genuine hydronyms (some of them English-Dutch or Saramaccan-Dutch hybrids) referring to rivers (e.g., *Lucie-R[ivier]* 'Lucie-River'), falls (e.g., *Tijger-val* 'Tiger-Fall'), and rapids (e.g., *Umuru-stromversnelling* 'Umuru-Rapids'). On Map 4, there is also *Zeven Broeders*, 'Seven Brothers', which is registered as *Zeven Broeders-vallen*, 'Seven-Brothers-Rapids', in the index of the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap. 1938). Several hills, with heights of 104 m, 116 m, 150 m, and 170 m, stand out from the otherwise flat country side but remain anonymous. What strikes the eye most, however, is the dotted red line, indicating a path that leads from the *Lucie-[Rivier]* inlands. At the terminus of this path, we find the indication of a rather short river, next to which we read *Vermoedelijk de Kabalebo-R[ivier]* 'probably the Kabalebo-River'. The margin of doubt that transpires from this example of LOM is dropped in the index, where only the hydronym *Kabalebo-rivier* is mentioned. It is clear that *Kabalebo-rivier* is a genuine geographical name so that the adverb *vermoedelijk* 'probably' and the definite article (common gender) *de*, 'the', are outside the properly onymic construction. Similar to the adjectival EPIKHARTIKON *inexplorée* 'unexplored' in the above case from Guyane Française, the adverbial EPIKHARTIKON *vermoedelijk* 'probably' does not describe properties of the GEO-object, but makes a statement about the knowledge the colonizers possess with regard to the GEO-object. Where *inexplorée* 'unexplored' declares the region to be terra incognita, *vermoedelijk* 'probably' is suggestive of the existence of certain clues that allow the geographers to put forward a hypothesis.

It is interesting that Map 4 features something, whose existence was not yet definitely confirmed – so the information must remain speculative. *Vermoedelijk de Kabalebo-R[ivier]* 'probably the Kabalebo-River' has the character of an assumption or suggestion, but not that of a statement of facts. This and similar cases of LOM prove that EPIKHARTIKA contribute to the discursive potential of maps. The subsequent paragraphs address evidence of this potential from the cartographic presentation of three German colonies.

To cut a long story short, we only comment on those cases of LOM that involve chains of two or more EPIKHARTIKA. The more EPIKHARTIKA combine, the more chances that a function other than that of toponymic reference applies. Map 5 shows the Astrolabe-Bai and the hinterland in Deutsch-Neuguinea (the northern part of today's Papua-New Guinea). There are seven types (with nine tokens) of chains of two or more EPIKHARTIKA, as shown in (4).

(4) Chains of two or more EPIKHARTIKA (Astrolabe-Bai)

ausgezeichnetes Kulturland, ‘excellent cropland’, *bewaldete Ebene*, ‘wooded plains’, *fruchtbare Ebene* (three times), ‘fertile plains’, *Korallengebirge mit Eingeborenengehöften*, ‘coral mountains with indigenous farmsteads’, *Rhein[ische] Mission*, ‘Rhenanian Mission’, *senkrechter Felsen*, ‘vertical rock’, *wilde Bananen*, ‘wild bananas’

Six of the seven types in (4) reflect the same syntactic pattern because they have the shape of noun phrases, with the head noun occupying the rightmost slot, preceded by an attributive adjective as modifier. In contrast to the vague *Mission* ‘mission’ on Map 1 and *mission catholique* ‘Catholic mission’ on Map 2, *Rhein[ische] Mission* ‘Rhenanian Mission’, helps to identify the missionary society. Except *senkrechter Felsen* ‘vertical rock’, all other data in (4) make statements about agriculturally interesting aspects. In all likelihood, EPIKHARTIC noun phrases like *ausgezeichnetes Kulturland* ‘excellent cropland’ and *fruchtbare Ebene* ‘fertile plains’ were meant as information (or even incentive) for potential settlers, farmers, and investors who considered Deutsch-Neuguinea as their future destination. We assume that the prepositional attribute in *Korallengebirge mit Eingeborenengehöften* ‘coral mountains with indigenous farmsteads’ served the same purpose, albeit indirectly, by telling the map user that there is cultivated land available.

This instance of LOM leads us to a comparable case in Togo. Map 6 shows the north-eastern corner of the German colony and the border region to the neighboring French possessions. On the German side of the border, we find several instances of EPIKHARTIKA, like *Steppe* ‘steppe’, *Buschsteppe* ‘bushland’, *Baumsteppe* ‘wooded steppe’, which are not particularly interesting for the topic at hand. Much more striking, however, is the chain of EPIKHARTIKA *viele Felder aber keine Dörfer* ‘many fields but no villages’ in the center of Map 6. This is a syntactically rather complex specimen of LOM. The complexity arises from the combination of two propositions that are in an adversative relation. The leftmost noun phrase *viele Felder* ‘many fields’ is an example of quantification; propositionally, the existence of numerous fields (at a given place) is asserted (*There are many fields*). The second noun phrase *keine Dörfer* ‘no villages’ involves the negative quantifier *keine* ‘no’, and thus the second noun phrase replicates the internal structure of the first one. The use of the negative quantifier turns the proposition into a negative existential, with the meaning *There are no villages*. What renders the case even more special is the presence of the adversative conjunction *aber*, ‘but’. The relation of adversativity can be decomposed as follows: the existence of many fields invokes the idea that humans must dwell in their vicinity; this inference is not corroborated by the facts since there are no villages, in the first place. It is remarkable that the map makers felt impelled to explicitly tell the map users that a potential presupposition of theirs does not hold. It is probably too daring to speak of a proto-form of an interactive map, but it cannot be denied either that this example from Togo illustrates some elements of the communicative and discursive nature of LOM.

To close this section, we take a final look at Map 7, which features a sector of the northern triangle in Kamerun (today's Cameroon) (to the south of Lake Chad). The maps of this colony in the *Großer Deutscher Kolonialatlas* are rich with intriguing cases of LOM that call for an in-depth study in the future. We only mention in passing the frequent use of the qualitative adjective *schöne(r)*, 'beautiful', as an attribute of different head nouns, as in *schöner See*, 'beautiful lake', *schöne Weidegründe*, 'beautiful pastures', *Teiche und schöne Vegetation*, 'ponds and beautiful vegetation', and *Wiesen und schöne Bäume*, 'meadows and beautiful trees.' These and similar chains of ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚΑ are outstripped – not only in terms of complexity – by a chain, which, on Map 7, is broken up into several lines, cf. (5).

(5) ΕΠΙΚΗΡΤΙΚ paragraph (Cameroon)

große Wildnis von den Fulbe Fili 'Obádja' genannt, hauptsächlich bedeckt von dichtem Wald mit großen Elefanten- und Giraffen-Herden, hier und da Wiesen-Flächen, die von den wandernden Fulbe mit ihren Rindern besucht werden. Reis wächst wild.

'huge wilderness called 'Obádja' by the Fulbe Fili, mainly covered with dense forest, with big herds of elephants and giraffes, patches of meadow here and there, which are frequented by the nomadic Fulbe with their cattle. Rice grows wild.'

In (5), we are told that there is an endonym *Obádja*, which refers to the region under inspection. The acknowledged existence of this endonym does not, however, induce the map maker to position it appropriately as a toponym on the map. This refusal to accept *Obádja* as a regular toponym suggests that local toponyms were not automatically officialized. Moreover, in (5), the indigenous inhabitants of the region are talked about in a way that they can be ruled out as addressees of the conveyed information. The expected map user is a member of the colonizer nation, who is still unfamiliar with the colony.

The paragraph in (5) is not only densely packed with information about local ethnic groups, their livestock, their nomadic life-style, and the flora and fauna, but it consists of two (grammatically almost complete) sentences. The complex first sentence involves a relative clause with a finite verb (the passive auxiliary (*besucht*) *warden*, 'are (frequented)'). Everything that precedes the relative clause has the format of noun phrases; the absence of finite verbs bars the possibility to analyze these syntagms as fully blown clauses. Therefore, it is not entirely correct to speak of a proper sentence. The much shorter second sentence, however, deserves this designation because even in context-free usage, *Reis wächst wild*, 'rice grows wild' would still be an acceptable, albeit marked German sentence (for instance, as a generic statement about rice). The syntactic structure involves a subject (*Reis*), a finite verb that agrees with the subject (*wächst*), and an adverbial modifier (*wild*). These sentential/clausal properties distinguish (5) from all our previous examples that display phrasal traits at best. At the same time, the use of clauses and sentences in the domain of LOM lends further credibility to our hypothesis that maps are texts.

5 Discourse Functions of EPIKHARTIKA

We have justified the fundamental necessity of transcending the solely onomastic interest of linguistics in LOM, and we still want to establish the relevance of the study of EPIKHARTIKA here by marking out its discourse-functional aspects. To this end, we will (i) underline and draw inference from the dimension of the materiality of EPIKHARTIKA as symphysical signs; (ii) relate the already described discourse function of toponyms to what we call the *esse-est-percipi principle* of EPIKHARTIKA; and (iii) focus on the commentary function that is particularly relevant for EPIKHARTIKA. The aim here is to extend the discourse-functional description of toponyms already established in research to EPIKHARTIKA and to add an important function that we have overlooked so far when dealing with toponyms, but which may be relevant, at least for colonial toponomastics in the narrower sense.

First, we outline what we mean by a discourse function. Function is a central linguistic term, whose theoretical embeddings are strikingly broad. Function is often juxtaposed with the concept of form to emphasize that language, in its formal appearance, is bound to purposes and effects of its use.²¹ Function is a concept of relation that relates systematically describable forms of language to extra-systematic matters, such as to a situation, to persons, etc. Accordingly, every use of language has a functional side. To speak of discourse function means, in a narrower sense, to consider language in relation to social knowledge orders, that is, in relation to what is shared, dominated, and controlled as knowledge at a certain time. When we ask about the discourse function of EPIKHARTIKA, we ask about its purposes and effects in social knowledge orders, which may legitimize or question actions from the individual, up to the political sphere. By discourse, we mean, in general, the way a society – wherever one can draw boundaries here – talks about matters.²² Of course, functions are always context-bound. For practical reasons, we consider only the colonial context in more detail. Another equally conceivable perspective would be a postcolonial recontextualization, that is, the function of historical data in contemporary perception. A demarcation is not always easy; therefore, we focus primarily on the question of which discourse functions EPIKHARTIKA possess in the context of their historical situatedness – thus identifying ourselves as linguists interested in historical data.

Ad (i): In a quotation from Jäger (2007, 21) that is not exactly easy to read, we encounter a conception of language mediality that seems absolutely apt for our concern with EPIKHARTIKA:

21 Beside other conceptualizations of function in linguistics, sociologist Robert Merton's (1949/1968, 117) distinction between 'manifest' and 'latent' functions in the sense of purpose and effect is of particular interest here.

22 We refer here, in particular, to a formula by Wichter (1999, 274), who understands discourse as social talk.

Die semantischen Gehalte von Sprachzeichen gehen [. . .] ihrer Übermittlung durch Zeichenausdrücke nicht einfach voraus, sondern sie werden im medialen Modus performativer Vollzüge konstituiert.²³

What sounds somewhat technical is ultimately trivial but also essential for understanding EPIKHARTIKA as a phenomenon, with the status of material deployment indicated by the prefix ἐπ(ι)- / ep(i)- (cf. also Warnke 2013). What EPIKHARTIKA *mean* and also what *can be meant* by them results not least from their materialization itself. Now, one might object that this says nothing other than that every meaning is always established in materially manifest contexts; but this is not only what is meant in our context. It is obvious to recall a fundamental distinction of sign types, which Karl Bühler already makes in his *Sprachtheorie* in 1934. Accordingly, there are signs that become intelligible, primarily in the context of action – those that establish their meaning primarily in the environment of other signs, and those for which material fixation is particularly characteristic. Bühler (1934/1999, 159) speaks here of the symphyseal environment of language signs for the material attachment of ‘isolierter, d. h. kontextfreier Namen’ (‘isolated, i.e., context-free names’). For toponyms on maps, this is immediately obvious, but we also assume for EPIKHARTIKA, in general, that their connectedness to the carrier material and their specific medialization as constitutive of a map is a crucial characteristic. This corresponds to our definition in (2). However, a specification also follows from this, because the connectedness (symphysis) of EPIKHARTIKA with the map is precisely not linked to the space itself, represented in the map. This again strictly indicates to us that EPIKHARTIKA are to be considered as a specifically medialized language on maps and must by no means be confused with their use outside of them, just as the space of the map is a map space and not the represented space.

This leads to a reversal of a conditionality of mapping itself: The descriptive principle

P1 If a space is colonially occupied, colonial maps of that space are created.

is crucially to be supplemented by another descriptive principle:

P2 If colonial maps exist, space is colonially occupied.

Colonial maps are thus much more than descriptive instruments, which has also been claimed for maps, in general, and by Critical Cartography, in particular, to which we also refer here and there in the following. For colonialism, therefore, we can already note a discourse-related basic function of EPIKHARTIKA:

Discourse function 1 – basic function

EPIKHARTIKA are instruments of claiming space in colonialism, their purpose is the linguistic occupation of space in the space of the map.

23 Our translation: “The semantic contents of language signs do not simply precede their transmission through sign expressions, but are constituted in the medial mode of performative enactments.”

For this reason alone, it is essential to consider EPIKHARTIKA in the linguistic analysis of colonial maps, and do so both system-linguistically and discourse-linguistically, as is the case for colonial toponyms. A toponomastic analysis of maps alone would by no means adequately capture the complexity of colonial spatial claims.

Ad (ii): this brings us to the further discourse functions of EPIKHARTIKA, whereby these correspond, in part, to the discourse functions already described for toponyms in Stolz & Warnke (2018b). However, in light of our preoccupation with EPIKHARTIKA, we want to be more precise about the functions already discussed elsewhere (see Stolz & Warnke 2018b, 47–51), before outlining one more function in (iii). The discourse functions already described for colonial toponyms are:

Discourse function 2 – referential function

EPIKHARTIKA *refer to sections of space through place identification and assert them as distinct from others; their purpose is the isolated perception in a spatial continuum of the map;*

Discourse function 3 – contextualizing function

EPIKHARTIKA *enrich spatial perception with language-bound information and contextualize spatial excerpts in a specific way; their purpose is the semantic charging of map space;*

Discourse function 4 – epistemic function

EPIKHARTIKA *are expressions of knowledge claims and connect spatial sections with epistemic assumptions; their purpose is the fitting of maps into time-bound knowledge formations.*

The discourse functions 1 to 4 are all intertwined with the so-called *Evidenzeffekt* ‘evidence effect’ (Glasze 2009, 184) of maps, that is, their supposed representational status, which is supposed to result in an assumption of authenticity with a convincing effect. The evidence effect as a media-bound effect supports the function of EPIKHARTIKA to lay colonial claim to space, to identify space in distinct sections from a colonizing perspective, to linguistically enrich its perception, and to fit it into knowledge orders. In this respect, EPIKHARTIKA *make* places in space (of the map).

We want to call this very basic place-constructing function, the *esse-est-percipi-principle*.²⁴ The world perceived on maps (its *esse*) is the form of its perception through the map (*est percipi*). EPIKHARTIKA’s *esse-est-percipi-principle* corresponds to what Glasze (2009, 182) in the project of a Critical Cartography considers maps to be: producers of social realities. The sub-questions associated with such an understanding (see Glasze 2009, 186) about *hierarchies of representation* in maps, the question of what is not mentioned on maps, the so-called *cartographic silence*,²⁵ about the *geometries* used, and the *symbolism and embellishments* employed are close to a linguistic project of investigating EPIKHARTIKA in colonial map works. Last but not least, the importance of actor-network theory, long considered in Critical Cartography, for under-

²⁴ Cf. also Schwarz-Friesel & Chur (2014, 93); we use *esse-est-percipi* here without further reference to the philosophy of Georges Berkeley and corresponding conceivable implications.

²⁵ In two recent studies, Stolz & Levkovich (2020b, 2021) investigate into the absence of toponyms on the colonial and postcolonial maps of the Gani islands in the Northern Marianas.

standing the reality-constructing function of maps, in terms of actants, opens up a large horizon of interdisciplinary dialogue for a linguistics of EPIKHARTIKA that has not been outlined before (cf. Glasze 2009, 186).²⁶

Ad (iii): So far, the functions of EPIKHARTIKA are consistent with what we have already presented elsewhere for colonial toponyms, albeit weighted and elaborated somewhat differently (see especially Stolz & Warnke 2018b). But let us return to the examples of the adjectival EPIKHARTIKON *inexplorée*, ‘unexplored,’ the adverbial EPIKHARTIKA *vermoedelijk*, ‘probably’ (see 4.2), which – like the chain of EPIKHARTIKA *viele Felder aber keine Dörfer*, ‘many fields but no villages’, in the center of Map 6 – have a discourse function that we have not yet captured, at least not specifically. Something has to be considered here, which seems to us, to be dominant: cartographic perception is itself thematized as such. We quickly see this in the fact that a person who would label our everyday environment with appropriate indications through signs (*unexplored, probably . . . , many X but Y*) would, at best, be perceived as a conceptual artist. Within the medium of the map, however, this seems far more acceptable and common. This leads us to the question of exactly what discourse function such entries have; again, we continue to assume colonial data, but our considerations can certainly be applied to broader contexts of maps. We see a fifth discourse function here, which we call the commentary function:

Discourse function 5 – commentary function

EPIKHARTIKA intervene in disordered space by commenting on this space and fit it into a hierarchizing discursive ordering framework; their purpose is the evaluation of map space.

Now, *commentary* can be understood in an everyday sense: Someone (a cartographer) says something (through EPIKHARTIKA) on a map; thus comments on a cartographically recordable so-called specificity. But the function of commentary is much more complex, and in colonial data, it is also closely related to the coloniality of EPIKHARTIKA. We understand *commentary* as a way of ordering discourse, and we refer here to Foucault’s *L’ordre du discours*. For Foucault (1971, 23), “le commentaire” (‘commentary’) belongs to the “procédures de contrôle et de délimitation du discours.”²⁷ In EPIKHARTIKA’s commentary function, the controlling, ordering intervention in colonial space through the instrument of the map is particularly evident. In Foucault, *commentaire* refers to texts in the narrower sense of the word, especially with regard to a gradation of texts into primary and secondary texts. One of the discourse-ordering performances of commentary in this understanding of text, however, corresponds to what we also observe in *inexplorée*, ‘unexplored,’ *vermoedelijk*, ‘probably,’ and *viele Felder aber keine Dörfer*, ‘many fields but no villages’. The cartographer is not satisfied with what is found (the primary text, so to speak), but puts it in order and adapts it to their ex-

²⁶ Turned linguistically, and that means pragmatically substantiated, with reference to Searle’s (1976) taxonomy of illocutionary acts, EPIKHARTIKA can overall be understood as declarative, i.e., world-making.

²⁷ Our translation: “the procedures of control and delimitation of the discourse.”

pectations and experiences shaped by discourse: *X is unexplored* (i.e., still needs to be explored), *X is probably a Y* (clarity is needed here), *but here X is not Y* (one expects otherwise). EPIKHARTIKA also order space by commentary, “le commentaire conjure le hasard du discours”²⁸ (Foucault 1971, 27), or the randomness of the space. The commentary function is about fitting the supposed disorder of space into an order:

La multiplicité ouverte, l'aléa sont transférés, par le principe du commentaire, de ce qui risquerait d'être dit, sur le nombre, la forme, le masque, la circonstance de la répétition²⁹ (Foucault 1971, 28).

Paraphrasing Edward Said, the book by Castro Varela, do Mar & Dhawan (2015, 124) speaks of a scholarly failure

die Bedeutung der geographischen Notierung, das theoretische Kartographieren und Verwalten von Territorien innerhalb westlicher Erzählungen (. . .) anzuerkennen³⁰

In our understanding, the analysis of EPIKHARTIKA's commentary function is absolutely and centrally part of this.

Summing up, the discourse functions of EPIKHARTIKA, up to this point, can be said to share basic functions with toponyms, with the comment function being an important addition to the previous functional-analytical parameters in CoCoTop. However, we do not want to simplify this, but still address a problem of the commentary function, namely, that of the demarcation between commentary and description. To what extent do entries like *ausgezeichn[etes] Kulturland*, ‘excellent cropland’, *bewaldete Ebene*, ‘wooded plains,’ or *fruchtbare Ebene*, ‘fertile plains’, serve a commentary function, and not that of a description? First of all, it can be stated in principle that there are no disinterested descriptions and that every form of description also carries evaluative dimensions, even if this is because something is considered worth describing in the first place. In a completely different context, here in art communication, Hausendorf (2011, 521) rightly points out in a general sense that describing is already ‘highly knowledge-dependent and presupposition-rich’.

When one takes a closer look at colonial maps, one quickly recognizes that numerous entries of the type *ausgezeichn[etes] Kulturland*, ‘excellent cropland’, concern the usability of or obstacles to the cultivation of land. The colonial project cannot achieve its goals without accounting for the function of the corresponding instances of LOM. Even if commentary and description are not distinct, it can be stated that they are located on an axis between the denoting pole (with descriptive function) and the evaluative pole (with commentary function). Figure 2 is based on Sprigade & Moisel (1909; Map 5):

²⁸ Our translation: “the commentary banishes the randomness of the discourse.”

²⁹ Our translation: “the open multiplicity, the randomness are transferred, by the principle of the commentary, from that which threatens to be said, onto the number, the form, the mask, the circumstance of the repetition.”

³⁰ Our translation: “to acknowledge the importance of geographical notation, the theoretical mapping, and management of territories within Western narratives.”

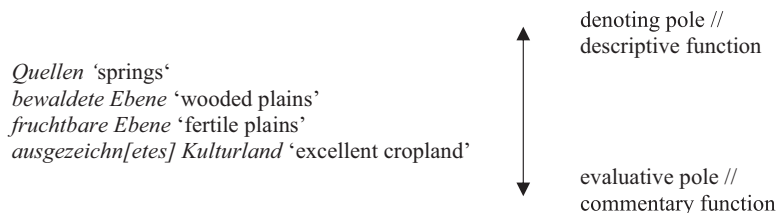


Fig. 2: Continuum of the commentary function of EPIKHARTIKA, taking the example of Astrolabe-Bai (Sprigade & Moisel 1909; Map 5).

For all the impossibility of an absolute distinction between description and comment, between denoting and evaluating, all examples in Fig. 1 are relate-able to questions of usability and usefulness; and it is this modality that is at stake here. The closer EPIKHARTIKA are to the evaluative pole, the more obvious such a reading becomes, as *ausgezeichn[etes] Kulturland*, 'excellent cropland', shows. Here, we should also refer again to the LOM *Région inexplorée*, 'unexplored region', discussed above, which is also close to the evaluative pole. In the context of the colonial map, the negative prefix in *inexplorée* suggests that something is to be discovered, or that the discovery of land is one of the tasks to be accomplished. *Région inexplorée* is thus not only a commentary on the landscape, but also a commentary on the colonization project itself.

One example, which we have already introduced in 4.2, we want to consider separately here again: *viele Felder aber keine Dörfer*, 'many fields but no villages.' We have already dealt structurally with the adversative relation. Particularly striking in this LOM, in terms of discourse function, are neither the descriptive, denotative expressions *Felder* 'fields' and *Dörfer* 'villages' nor the quantification with *viele* 'many' and the negative quantifier *keine* 'no,' but the adversative conjunction *aber* 'but.' The conjunction refers to a background of knowledge from which an evaluation is made. In German grammar, this is called an *Erwartungshintergrund* ('expectation background', Zifonun et al. 1997, 2404): When there are many fields somewhere, then one also expects villages. Exactly such expectations are the source of evaluation on colonial maps (cf. also Karg 2018); expectations are nothing less than adjustments of the perceived environment into an ordering, hierarchizing discursive framework.

Foucault's concept of commentary is based on a distinction between discourses that disappear in everyday life and discourses that are passed on, transmitted, transformed, etc. through commentary. He speaks of the 'dénivellation entre les discours'.³¹ This translates well into our subject matter. There are such sections that remain without LOM on colonial maps and those that are either marked by toponyms or annotated by more or less pronounced evaluative EPIKHARTIKA. The cartographic gradient we observe here is one between spatial representation and discourse incorporation. This

³¹ Our translation: 'gradient between discourses.'

dénivellation is, of course, not only observable on colonial maps. Any thematic map, for instance on natural resource deposits, can have corresponding functions, even without language. However, we focus on LOM in colonial maps where the comment function cannot be overlooked. As we have shown, there is even a group of LOM that is essentially characterized by the commentary function.

6 Conclusions

We have attempted to show that instances of LOM are important data in the study of media-bound language occurrences. We have thus recognizably extended our previous interest in colonial toponyms, focusing here on the most basic concept of our approach, the *EPIKHARTIKON*. Our dual perspective of system-oriented and discourse-oriented linguistics shows how complex the relevant data are and how much they demand from a systematic analysis. In this study, we have laid the necessary groundwork for this. We conclude that the long-term project of CoCoToP has to be extended by an equally extensive comparative project on colonial *EPIKHARTIKA*. A comprehensive description of their constructions, grammar, and discourse functions is a desideratum. We recognize the special importance of such a project, also because it can build a bridge to an even more far-reaching project: It can link the linguistic study of map data to the analysis of large corpora, such as the *Digitale Sammlung Deutscher Kolonialismus / Digital Collection German Colonialism*.³² If, for example, evaluative construction patterns on maps are linked to analyses of colonial text corpora, one will have taken a significant step forward in a linguistics that historically investigates the medial complexity of script-bound coloniality. However, this first requires an in-depth study of colonial *EPIKHARTIKA*.

Abbreviations

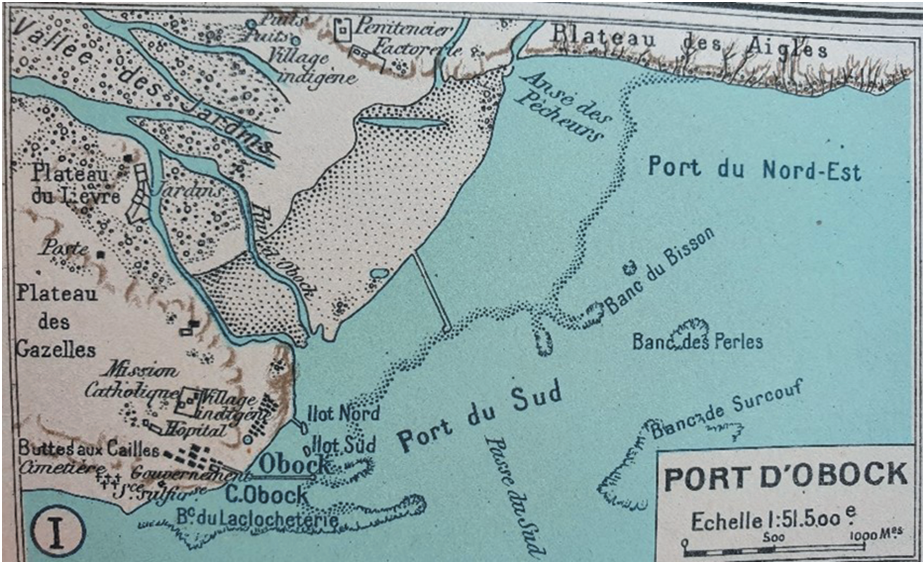
CCE	Canonical Colonial Exonym
CoCoToP	Comparative Colonial Toponomastics
LOM	Language on maps

³² <https://brema.suub.uni-bremen.de/dsdk>.

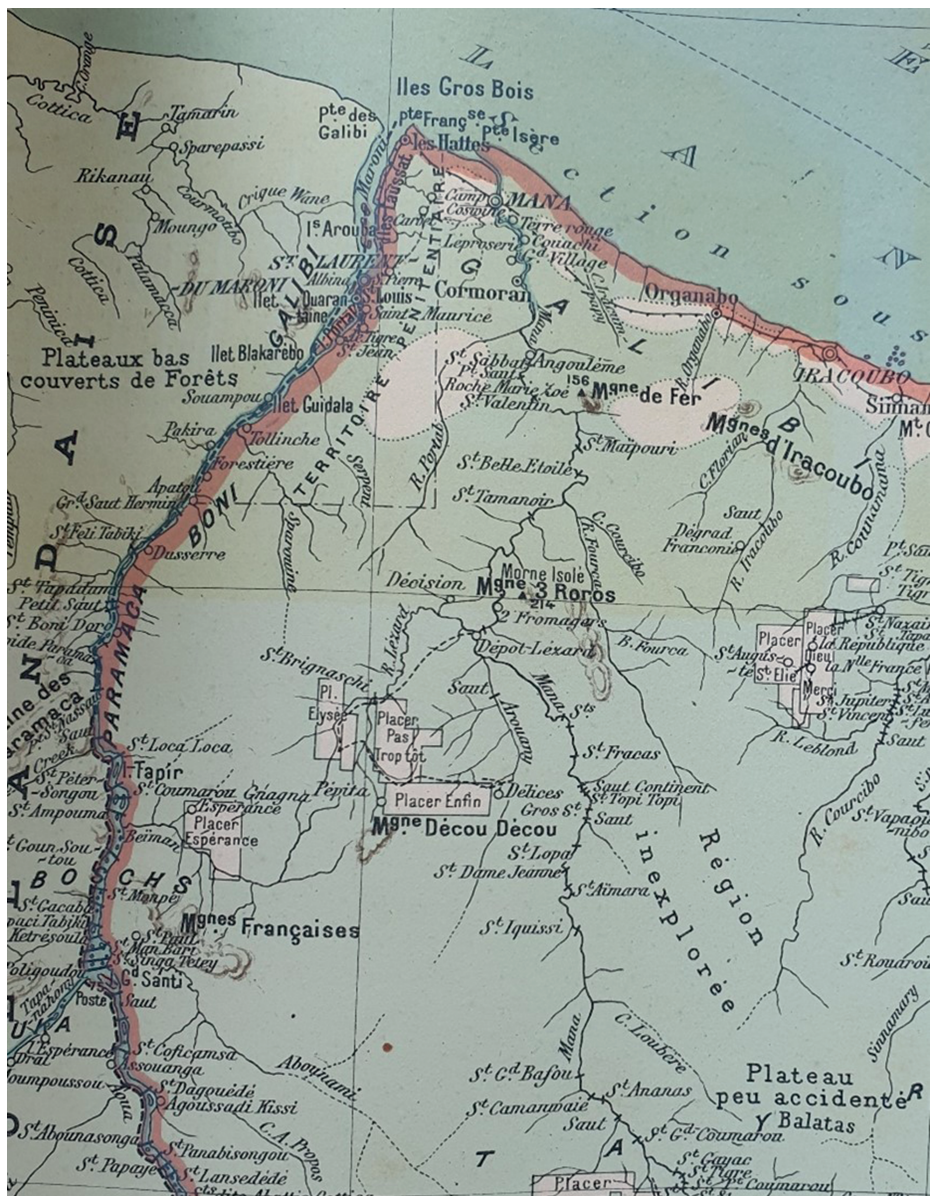
Appendix



Map 1: Lüderitzbucht and its immediate surroundings (Schnee 1920, unpaginated separate map).



Map 2: Port d'Obock and its immediate surroundings (Pollacchi 1929, 197).



Map 3: Guyane Française (north-western sector) (Pollacchi 1929, 265).



Map 4: Suriname (mid-western sector) (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap 1938, blad 30b).

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